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THE ANGEL'S WING.

There is a German superstition, that when a sudden silence takes place in a company, an angel at that moment makes a circuit among them, and the first person who breaks the silence is supposed to have been touched by the wing of the passing seraph. For the purposes of poetry, I thought two persons preferable to many, in illustrating this very beautiful superstition.

When by the evening's quiet light

I here sit two quiet lovers,
They say, while in such tranquil plight,
An angel round them hovers;
And further still old legends tell—
The first who breaks the silent spell,
To say a soft and pleasing thing,
Hath felt the passing angel's wing.

Thus a musing minstrel stray'd

By the summer ocean,
Gazing on a lovely maid,
With a bard's devotion:
Yet his love he never spoke,
Till now the silent spell he broke:
The hidden fire to flame did spring,
Fann'd by the passing angel's wing!

"I have loved thee well and long,
With love of Heaven's own making!—
This is not a poet's song,
But a true heart's speaking;
I will love thee, still untiring!"
He felt,—he spoke—as one inspired—
The words did from Truth's fountain spring
Upwaken'd by the angel's wing.

Silence o'er the maiden fell,
Her beauty lovelier making;
And by her blush, he knew full well
The dawn of love was breaking.
It came like sunshine o'er his heart!
He felt that they should never part,
She spoke—and oh!—the lovely thing
Had felt the passing angel's wing.

Letter of Hon. Wm. Allen, of the U. States Senate, to the Young men's Democratic State Convention, of Ohio.

WASHINGTON CITY, 23d July, 1842.

My Dear Sir:—

Your obliging letter of the 8th instant, came to me several days since, and would have been immediately answered, but for the pressure of business with which I could not dispense.

I would be gratified, I assure you, were it in my power to attend, as you invite me, the Young men's State convention on the 28th inst. I should be gratified for other reasons, but especially so, that I might there be able to take once more by the hand, hundreds of the noble spirits whom it has been my pride to call personal, as well as political friends, and with many of whom I became first acquainted, when traversing the State to offer my aid in the contest of '33, & in the more terrible struggle of '40. But the madness of the dominant majority, seems likely to make this session of Congress as long, as it has already made it odious; and I have, therefore, no prospect of being present in person—in soul and in sentiment however, I shall be with the democracy then, and always whilst I have reason enough left to appreciate the value of freedom.

When the convention meets, it will find the federal government, for the first time, brought down by its own acts, in sixteen months of the profoundest peace, to a point of distress as low and as humiliating, as could well have resulted from the most protracted and disastrous war. This great calamity is the first born offspring of federalism since it assumed the name of whiggery, and embodied its principles and its passions, in the form of a national administration.

For many years prior to 1840, the leaders of that party had been busily collecting into a common focus, all the diseased elements of society. In that year, they found the public mind fretful and restless. They found thousands discontented, whom the reaction of their own system of currency and credit had ruined. They found banks, bankruptcy, indolence, avarice, rapacity, impudence, venality, profligacy, cupidity and fraud,—all standing ready to league with ambition, for the power and plunder of the country. The league was formed, and every feeling of the human heart, that lay within the reach of terror or corruption,

was then stimulated into revolt against the democratic party. The prices of all things were suddenly reduced, because the politicians had prompted the banks thus to aggravate the public distress, by the reduction of their discounts and circulation. The people were openly treated with contempt, by the brutality of the appeals made to their senses. Fraud and folly, the most criminal and ridiculous, were employed to distract their attention, bewilder their minds, and mislead their action. To affect their imaginations, every thing from the gorgeous ensign of the republic, with its stars and stripes streaming from its battlements, down to the skin of the most loathsome skunk, was displayed to the popular eye. Globes and cabinets, banners and bushes, barrels and brutes, harangue and music, revelry and feasting, the song and the bottle, imprecations, blasphemy, badges and buffoonery; all things that could minister to confusion, were made to chime in the general din. Reason was silenced in the turmoil, and truth, for once in our country, yielded its empire to falsehood, fraud and frivolity. If these leaders condescended for a moment to speak seriously to the people, it was but to denounce things as abuses which did not exist, and to make pledges of reform they never intended to fulfil. They deplored the scarcity of money they had themselves occasioned, and promised abundance on their accession to power. They condemned removal from office for the sake of opinion, and invoked Heaven to witness that this practice should cease. They promised the unfortunate a reparation of his fortunes—the laborer an increase of his wages—the farmer an addition to his prices—the hopeless of every description the gratification of being soon surprised in their despondency, by the timely bounty of Government, to be distributed among them. To the nation at large they promised opulence and contentment, the restoration of law and order—the healing of all wounds—the restitution of all rights—the reparation of all wrongs—the cure of all ills—the remedy of all disorders—the observance of all obligations—the reduction of all burthens—economy in all things—security, plenty and happiness to all men. Thus was excited every passion of our nature, to its extremest limit, by all the means which the joint energies of ambition and rapacity could employ. Thus was the public heart torn and lacerated—the public mind stung and goaded—and thus was an administration, conducted by men of honor, ability and patriotism, undermined and overthrown by the most stupendous conspiracy that ever yet was leveled against the liberties of a free people.

What has been the result? On the 4th of March 1841, the whole power of the country changed hands; Mr. Van Buren and his friends retired without a murmur, and gave place to Gen. Harrison and his. The event of the contest had for months been known, and from that moment, proscription for opinion, ceased to be a crime. Throughout the land one wild and universal cry was heard for the blood and bread of the Democrats in office. Before he had left the banks of the Ohio, the President elect was beset by intruders without number, and importunities beyond the power of gratification. On his arrival in the Capital, he found it already besieged by thousands who had trooped together from all parts of the Union, to demand of him the spoils of a conquered country. There was an impatient ferocity in their looks, like that of a rapacious soldiery, when restrained for a moment from the sack and plunder of a subjugated city. He was a man scarred with the infirmities of age—a heart, I believe, that found no pleasure in the passion of revenge, and therefore, when left to himself, was disinclined to inflict without cause upon so many men, the miseries of a general removal. But neither his infirmities nor his feelings were respected by his victorious partisans; and on the first day of his power, within ten minutes after the official oath was administered, and whilst he was yet descending the eastern portico of the Capitol, his friends in the Senate admonished him of the haste he was expected to make in the execution of vengeance, and the distribution of spoil, by submitting in that body the following resolution:

"Resolved, That Blair and Rives be dismissed as printers of the Senate for the twenty-seventh Congress."

On the seventh day after, this resolution was passed, and thus were these defenceless citizens without a crime, or even a charge against them, but that of their opinions, deprived of their contract solemnly made with the Senate—their bond annulled, and all the expenses they had incurred to execute the work, thrown as a dead loss upon them. Here was an example the President was expected to follow; and from that day to the day of his final affliction, whether in his mansion or in his walks, in public or in private, under all circumstances, and at all times, the office seekers still clustered around him. It was not the plea of his infirmities, or that of his arduous duties, nor was it the lifting of his time-withered hand with a gesture to retire, that could remove the dense mass who pursued and importuned him. In spite of all these, they followed him up, swarming upon him still thicker every hour, until at last, like hornets, they stung him to death. Nor

were the terrors of a death bed, or the solemn conditions of an expiring man, sufficient to silence their clamors, or stay for an instant, the removals his subordinates were making in his name. For, upon the authority of that name, though insensible himself, and sinking to the grave, the more cruel of his counsellors continued to swing the axe of execution, as if determined that the last mortal sound which broke upon the ear of the dying President, should be, not the sound of prayer, or the filial sob, but the distressful scream of a victim struck down in his presence. And even after his death, and the translation of his remains from the Capitol to the west, democrats were spurred from office, upon the sole allegation, that he, in his life, had intended their removal.

Such was the first result; and what was the next?

They had declared the country ruined by democratic councils. They had declared the single object of their own advent to be its immediate redemption. Yet, notwithstanding this, no sooner did they find themselves all powerful, and the people all powerless, than did they begin to disclose other objects, far different from that—objects, in their tendency, ruinous to every interest they had promised to foster, save the interest of the few, against the rights of the many; and blasting to all the hopes they had labored to excite, save the hopes of the rapacious for the plunder of the Government. But to disclose such objects, was dangerous, if their execution was delayed. It was important, therefore, and well they knew it, to forge and rivet their system of measures upon the country, whilst the public mind was yet feverish and flighty, from the inflammation of the recent struggle. Strike whilst the iron is hot! was the signal passed to his followers, by him who spoke for the whole, and by all was obeyed. Let not the people cool down, but now, while the glow and giddiness of triumph is upon them, let us rush to the Capitol, and there, in the midst of the general glee, bind and clinch our system on the nation.

This, it seems, was the policy which prompted the convention of Congress, in extraordinary session, on the 31st of May, 1841.

On that day the extra session commenced, and then it was, that those measures were proposed, which express the real motives of the leaders, and which have brought the Government and the country to their present condition. They were then victors over the whole field of power.—With the Executive—with a majority, overwhelming, in both branches of Congress; there was nothing to restrain the full sway of their pleasure or their principles. This they knew, and this they felt; and therefore it was, that their chief in the Senate, with all the swaggering indelicacy of one unaccustomed to success, openly proclaimed to the democracy of the body, that we had been condemned by the judgment of the people—had been brought together only for execution; and that all that we uttered was to be heard as nothing, but the complaints of malefactors, on their way to the scaffold. Such was the delirium of meretricious triumph and vulgar revenge, with which the federalists began their work; and without preparing any thing in its stead, laid hold upon the Sub-Treasury, and tore it to the ground. Thus, did these infatuated men—they who had most falsely charged the democratic party with having committed the public treasure to the sole custody of the Executive—with having united, in his person, both the sword and the purse—thus did they, among the very first acts of their power, do themselves, the very same thing so unjustly ascribed to others, by the repeal of the only law which placed the money of the nation out of the reach of the President. No bank, no law, no resolution, had they passed to take the place of the act they repealed. Nor is there, to this day, any such provision, or any such likely to be, while the present Congress remains.

—And why is this? If the majority cannot get the fiscality they desire, can they not pass an act to secure the revenue? or do they intend to have it as it is, exposed to the hazard of official pillage, in order to try, once more, the coercion of the people into a national bank? These men came into power, as we are told, upon the holy mission of guarding the sanctity of the constitution, the law, and all human obligations. So pious was their reverence for the observance of contracts, that some of their number were willing that this government, though penniless itself, and plunging in debt, should assume the debts of the states, rather than witness their repudiation. Nevertheless, these very same men, the chosen and the anointed guardians of all things sacred, by one general act, with the name of bankruptcy for its caption, repudiated the debts of the larger debtors throughout the entire nation. By his single act, they allowed the interested party, if his debts were large and his means considerable, to cancel his bond, and thus to ruin the friend or the neighbor, who, as creditor or security, had confided in his honor. I say, if the debts were large, because if small, and the debtor poor, the expense of the process makes the law unavailable, and therefore, a nullity to him.—To execute the act, the Federal judiciary passes over the constitution, usurps the rightful jurisdiction of the local courts, defies &

spurns the sovereignty of the states. No matter for that, the greater bankrupts, the magnificent millionaires of the paper system, were brought to bankruptcy, not by misfortune in legitimate trade—not by accident beyond the power of discretion, but by the eagerness of an avarice seeking to gratify itself in the gambling of speculation, and then wasting, in splendid profusion, all that the fortune of the hazard placed within its reach. As men already ruined and desperate, they had entered the contest of '40, with the pledge of the federalists, that their debts should be treated as gambling obligations and sponged by the law and an oath. And this pledge alone, of the many made, has federalism faithfully fulfilled.

Economy, let it be remembered, had been promised as a policy proper in itself and especially so, in the then necessitous state of the treasury. And yet by this very convention of congress, at a time not appointed by the law, \$391,000 were wasted in the payment of its members, and other expenses of the session.

\$25000 were next bestowed as a gratuity upon the widow of the late President, and this, without any request from her, or necessity found in her pecuniary circumstances. So far from any such necessity then existing, or likely to exist, it was a fact well known and declared at the time, that the private fortune of that respectable lady, placed her above the humility of asking such favors, from any quarter whatever.—Still the money was voted from the treasury as if taxes were nothing to the people; and waste the duty of the government.

At its last session which closed on the 4th of March, 1841, the preceding congress had made all the useful and needful appropriations, and provided the means for the public service of the ensuing year.—But regardless of this—regardless alike of the condition of the country, and of their own promises, so solemnly given, the ruling majority in the present congress, proceeded but three months after, and before one third of those appropriations were expended, to appropriate, for the same year, an addition of five millions and forty-three thousand dollars. The name of economy was no longer heard, but when pronounced by the democrats, to remind the federalists of what they had pledged, and to rebuke them for what they were about. Heedless of this, the leaders, who projected these measures, seemed but the more diligent to discover every excuse for extravagance, that could find impunity in the general pretext of the public good.

But those who expend, must also accumulate; and in the case of government, taxes and loans are the chief sources of supply. Hence it was that after, by this additional expenditure, they had effectually picked the very bones of the treasury, they next turned their attention to the increase of taxes. Here was a nerve to be touched, that ran through the body of the people and, therefore, it was important to prepare them for the shock, by the soothing process of distribution. They had left in the coffers of the government, not an unappropriated dollar. The ordinary income was short of the extraordinary outlay. Taxes, had they been sufficient in amount, came in too tardily to meet the rapidity of expenditure, and to borrow became, consequently, the only immediate resource. This state of things was known and acknowledged, because brought about by the ruling majority. What then did they do? In aggravation of these evils, and, as if totally bent upon the utter bankruptcy and ruin of the government confided to their care, they proceeded to snatch every dollar accruing to the treasury from the public domain, and to cast it away in pinnacles to the states. No consciousness of its folly—no barrier in the constitution—no "beggary account of empty boxes," from the treasury department—no terrors of a national debt, could possibly arrest them in this. Nor was the injustice of augmenting taxes, when the means of the people to pay, were diminishing, sufficient to retard, much less to prevent this profligate waste of the nation's resources. Distribute they would, and that too, at the hazard of the public exchequer. They confided in the craft of the scheme and were willing to risk its exposure. One dollar was to be given by the government through the states, to the people, and for that, three paid back, by the people, through the custom house, to the government. The people would see and might be tempted, by the amount they received; that which they paid, was to be taken from them, in the dark and at a distance. The first process was to be direct and visible—the second circuitous and obscure, and it was upon this obscurity, that the federalists relied, for impunity against detection in the imposture. The act of distribution was therefore passed, and then in an instant after, the same men who passed it urged that very act, by which the land revenue was thus excluded from the treasury, as an additional reason why the taxes upon the people, should be immediately increased. A tax of six millions of dollars was accordingly added, in the form of tariff duties, to the burthens before imposed upon the nation.

But in view of the lost revenue distributed; the vast appropriations already made, and those intended for the future, even this increase of taxes would prove inadequate. A loan of twelve millions of dollars was,

therefore, authorized upon the credit of the people and the pledge of their farms and workshops, for its payment, principal and interest. This it was supposed would, together with the taxes and the treasury notes already afloat, afford a fund sufficient to feed for the present, even the extravagance of the ruling power. A national debt would, it was true, with all its evils, be the inevitable consequence. So much the better, for such a debt, instead of being a reason with federalists why they should economise the public income, has ever been, and yet is, with them, of all reasons the very strongest, for the most boundless prodigality of expenditure. And therefore, with this infatuated affection for a public debt, they were not to be satisfied with the twelve millions loan as a beginning; but, on the contrary, they proceeded immediately to add sixteen millions to that—the last being intended as the base stock of the Fiscality—a national bank more hideous, infinitely in all its features, than was the former institution, whose conduct, decay and dissolution have appalled the world—have doomed to penury so many families and imparted so much impurity to the social and political morals of the country.

Nature never abandons men absolutely to their own indiscretions: for even in the gross confusion of public affairs, she often interposes her silent authority to check the dominant power in a state, whenever it threatens to inflict a degree of misery she never intended mankind should endure—out of the bosom of the whig party therefore, the veto sprung to strike down the forth-coming monster whilst yet in its feebly condition. The presiding magistrate had received the sceptre from the hands of that party, but not upon the condition of perjury and dishonor. He felt that he owed some allegiance to the constitution of his country, and as it was the constitutional veto which alone intercepted the bank and the debt, the majority desired, they resolved to attack the constitution itself, and the President who had dared to support it—thus far upon that point, he still stands firm. How long the constitution shall stand, remains for the people and the states to determine. It is enough that the nation now knows, full well the designs of the Federal leaders, their principles—their measures—the measure of their ambition and profligacy as thus displayed in an extra session of three months and fourteen days duration and which closed its memorable labors on the 13th of September 1841.

Congress commenced its present session on the 6th of December 1841, and up to the date of this letter, has continued, without intermission, for seven months and seventeen days. It will adjourn some time or other, but not I presume, until the master majority shall have, more effectually, if that be possible, exhausted their own passions and the patience of the people, as well as the resources and credit of the Government. When they assembled, that silent but thorough revolution, which is now perfected, in the public mind, had then greatly advanced, as was visible in the popular elections. Upon almost every battle field where in '40, they triumphed, they had, or have since been routed by a people indignant at having been so shamefully betrayed. Full one half of their numbers, both in the Senate and in the House, now find themselves unsupported; their principles and their measures sternly condemned by the States and the districts that sent them here. In federalism, however, this has produced no change. From the beginning to the present, it has continued the policy of the extra session; and yet continues to pursue that policy, with all the preternatural energy of despair; as though resolved during the brief futurity of its power, to stamp upon the country, as deeply as possible, the dark impress of its baleful genius. With these views the party have proceeded. They have authorized an additional loan of five millions of dollars. They have added five millions more to the treasury notes previously issued. But these, with those of the extra session, are still not enough—and therefore, another tariff has passed the House and will as certainly pass the Senate, imposing thirteen million more of taxes upon the country. Thus will every article from abroad—all things that minister to the wants of men—tea, coffee—whatever is most needful to the poorest citizen, each one and all, now yield its tribute, to fill yet fuller, the already distended maw of insatiate power.

And yet, after all this—loans, taxes, and treasury notes—how stands the treasury itself? Still empty! How stands the public credit—the credit of this great government—the credit that never once was sullied when democracy presided—how stands it now? Down, and still hopelessly sinking down lower, by far, than that of any respectable farmer in Ohio—treasury notes, if not at interest, depreciated, with no prospect of rising—the government drafts daily protested and dishonored—its bonds hawked about in the market and returned without a bidder, and the government every where, and in all forms, treated as an insolvent.

Appropriations, nevertheless, go on as profusely as ever, quite as much so, as though the treasury were full, and absolutely exhausted. For, from the amount

already passed, and that pending with the certainty of passage, it is manifest that this will at the end of the session, leave its full and just proportion, to all the other limbs of their monstrous system.

Claims, some the most base and others the most baseless, are now presented against the government, and treated with the serious respect due only to the just demands of the honest citizen. The holders of such claims seem to have discovered a mutual sympathy between the majority of this Congress and themselves. They repair to the capitol with the just claim that directs the culture to the soil.

The militia of Massachusetts—they, the very same who, during the late war, when the country was invaded and they ordered by the President to the public service, positively refused obedience, refused to pass the line of their state—refused to pull a trigger in the defence of the republic; they who by that very refusal, encouraged the British, allowed them a lodgment in a Massachusetts seaport—they who trafficked with, instead of fighting, the public enemy—they have, nevertheless, lived long enough, to laugh in secret at an American Senate, for having, twenty-nine years ago, voted to them the third of a million from the national treasury for these their services in the late war. These men, who in every other country would have been treated as traitors, are, in this, about to be paid in money for their treason, by the very government they betrayed.

Next comes the heirs of Gen. Hull, with their demand for the salary of their father, as Governor of the territory of Michigan, during the very time, and for no other time, than the territory was in possession of the British—surrendered to them by Hull himself, together with the gallant army from Ohio—crimes for which he was then under arrest, and afterwards condemned by the law, to death, as a traitor. Yet this claim, the very presentation of which was an outrage on every American citizen, and especially so to the citizens of Ohio, whose heroic people had thus been, by this very man, so basely surrendered to the enemy, as prisoners of war, this claim, this demand, which committee in the Senate, elected upon the floor, and defeated, caused some of that party, and all democrats, were ashamed to dishonor the body by its passage.

But economy—justice—federal economy and justice, were with that very same committee, found a sufficient bar to the repayment of the fine imposed by a vindictive judge, on Andrew Jackson, for having expelled traitors from his camp, during his glorious defence of Orleans.

If these things were not on record, no individual should state them, as the word of no man would alone be deemed, by the country, conclusive of facts so derogatory to the character of the American Congress. Yet facts they are, and that of record too, whosoever may be injured by them.

Amidst the systematic policy of public ruin, which this Congress has pursued, it has introduced for the first time, a practice in the highest degree dangerous to the liberties of the people. I allude to the practice of the House in gagging the minority, and that of the Senate in veiling from the public eye, the real condition of the Government. In both, the democratic minorities are powerless—the federal majorities direct all action—hurry or retard all business, at pleasure. It is in the House that the great money bills chiefly originate. There they have been, motionless kept back for month after month. In the mean time, as an excuse for delay, debate has been encouraged on matters of indifference. Then all things being ready, those great measures have been suddenly brought up, and after the most trivial discussion, the gag applied and the voice silenced under the ridiculous pretext of a want of time. On such occasions the democracy are hushed, not by the previous question, but a stern resolution which seals the lips and forces through the measure, without consideration, however important its provisions, and without the exposure of its enormities, though destructive it may be, to the best interests of the country. Thus have millions been appropriated, and taxes by the million voted in the very last month of our seven months' session without one single word of the minority in the House being heard, enough allowed him to expose the imbecility, or enormity of such measures. But is matters of no moment, no gag is applied, because in these freedom of speech dangers neither corruption nor despotism. To silence the representatives, is to silence the ears of the people. It is both their right, and his, that he should speak. It is theirs, because it is their business to do. It is his, because he is responsible for what he does. Their safety consists in making him explain the reason of his votes—his, in being able to do so. Silence and secrecy are to be deprecated, as are speech and publicity to be encouraged. The two strongest elements of the government are only guardians of its safety. It is for these reasons that I regret the closing of its doors, by the Senate, in the matter of nominations—a practice indefensible by argument and excused only by its antiquity. But to suppress a dissenting